565 554 [302] [516] [195] 554 562 574 [533] [516] 565 [83] 513 [842] 582 [648] 565 [793] 871 [651]

The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

Plate IX

291
302
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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue 302 color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed [824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [880] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month.

[412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they

[515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids.

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

[751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take [412 531 212] any particular care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 75 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [624] The child must then bear the name *which had been given the goat* for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ẍnaba, the panther; Ẍbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ẍhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[131] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

1: Lhote--148b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XIV

Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

302 291

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

302 Tuareg women sometimes plaster their foreheads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or charcoal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up [751] gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings, 291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

● 302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
[515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 261]
[Pp. 252-260 not processed]

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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 262]

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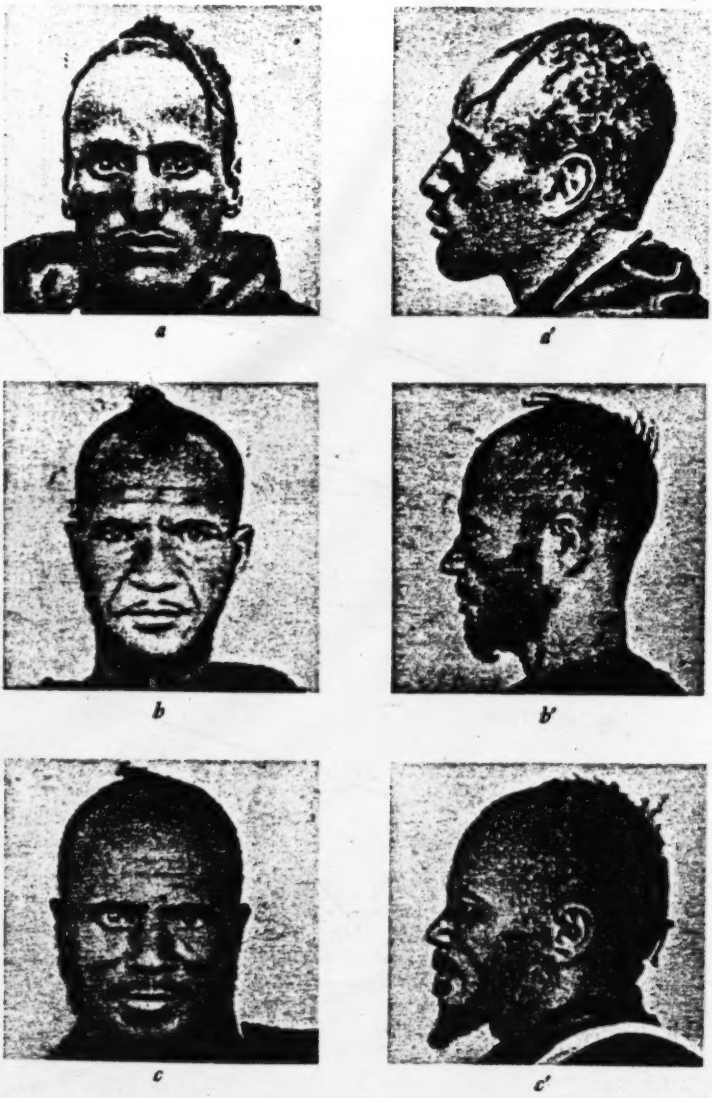


Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

Chapter XII

Mourning

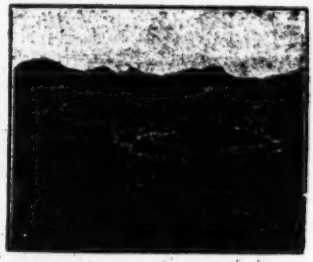
Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵄⵓⴹⵓⴼ , does not have 765 any very outstanding features for a man.

In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [302] with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":

Plan

[764]



Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

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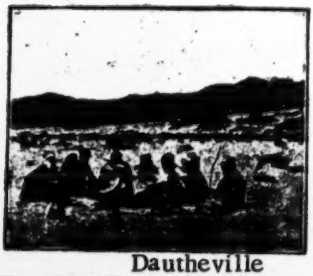

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⴹⵊⵏⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 396
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕ⵊⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302] head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ⴰⵙⴰⴷⴰ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⵉⵜⵍⵍⵉ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" ⵜⴰⴷⴱⴰⵏⴰⵜ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" ⵜⵉⵔⵣⵣⵎⵉⵏ .

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

Chapter XIX

The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵉ , plural "ifelledad" ⵉⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵉ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1998, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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302

18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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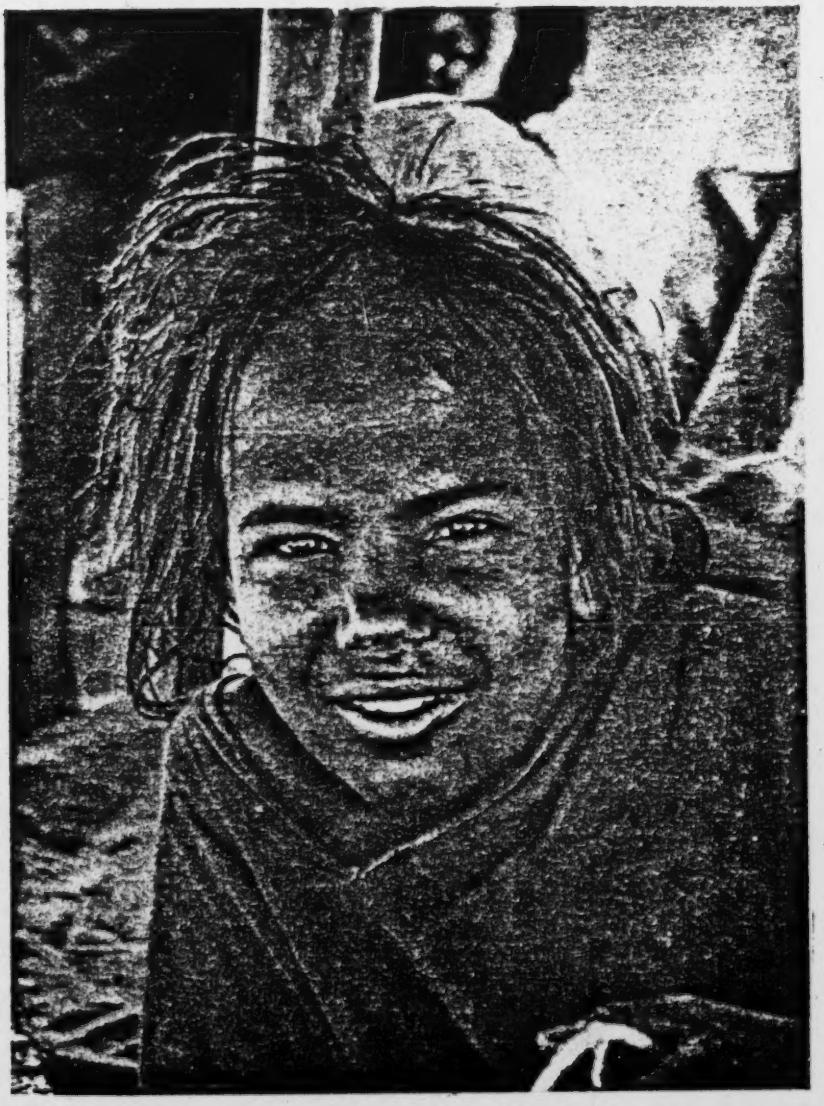

Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ikkn-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their

[648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern

[648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Béllá*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwillemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béllá*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

ténet	*tamachek*	*English*
wochimbagen	*ineden*	blacksmiths
wosilkum	*echink*	porridge
tikulkumin (pl.)	*tikammarin*	cheese
ohundegan	*aman*	water
ogera	*érief*	head
tokonderey	*timezzugin*	ears
tedroragen	*titawin*	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *ogera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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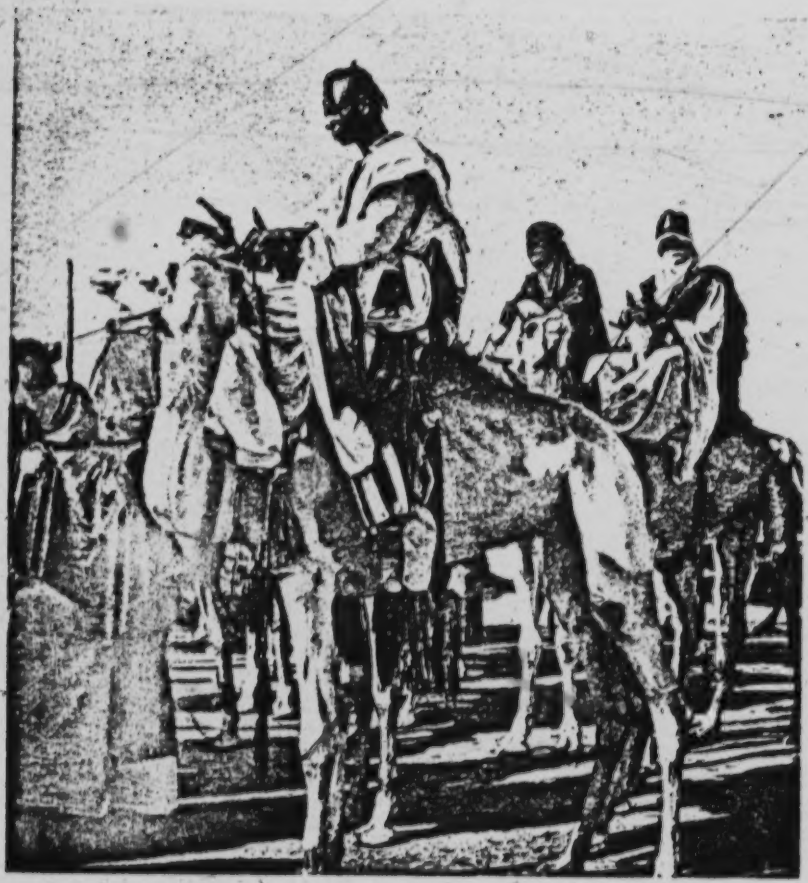

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – (3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahaet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahaet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 93. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ibezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaramen* tribe.

than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and, perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165).

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azeru*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tabarakkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word *elmefsif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld under the name *abaqlor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abaqul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living

Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayehara* (Ahaggar) or *ayeiira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabura̱k* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabura̱k* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tdmekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[Text continues on p. 255]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*idfert*) of date palm bast (*azan*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Rezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*dhafilen*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tazzarkit*, or *tazzagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelam*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellum*) which is made by trebling the *tazzagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *aseğbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.